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# STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF LOCRIS III<sup>1</sup>

## A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM PHYSCUS IN WEST LOCRI

THE inscription published below I found, August 1, 1914, on the occasion of a hurried trip on foot through West Locris after the outbreak of the Great War. My squeeze-paper had been lost out of the pack in the rough country, and I had no time for an elaborate reproduction of the precise shapes of the letters (which, however, as I noted at the time, showed no peculiar features), but in essentials I trust that my copy is fairly accurate.<sup>2</sup> The general style is that of the second century B.C. The lines are somewhat irregular in length, due in part no doubt to the fact that the inscription was cut in the right end of a *hemicyclium*, numerous pieces of which and of the accompanying statue-base or altar lay about on the ground near the north-west corner of the ancient wall of Physcus, immediately south of the modern village of Malandrino.

Θ Ε Ο Σ Α Γ Α Θ Α Ι Τ Υ Χ Α Ι  
Α Γ Ω Ν Ο Θ Ε Τ Ε Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Α Γ Ο Υ Π Τ Ο Ρ Θ Α Ο . . .  
Φ Υ Σ Κ Ε Ο Σ Τ Ο Κ Ο Ι Ν Ο Ν Τ Ω Ν Λ Ο Κ Ρ Ω Ν Ε Δ Ω Κ Ε Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α . . .  
. Ω Ι Ε Υ Α Γ Ο Ρ Α Α Χ Α Ι Ω Ι Ε Ξ Α Ι Γ Ι Ο Υ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι  
5 Ε Υ Ε Ρ Γ Ε Σ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Τ Ο Λ Ι Τ Ε Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Α Σ Υ Λ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι  
Τ Τ Ρ Ο Δ Ι Κ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Α Τ Ε Λ Ε Ι Α Ν Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ε Δ Ρ Ι Α Ν Κ Α Ι Γ Α Σ  
Ε Ν Κ Τ Η Σ Ι Ν Κ Α Ι Ο Ι Κ Ι Α Σ Κ Α Ι Α Υ Τ Ω Ι Κ Α Ι Ε Γ Γ Ο Ν Ο Ξ  
Κ Α Ι Τ Τ Ο Λ Ε Μ Ο Υ Κ Α Ι Ε Ι Ρ Α Ν Α Σ Κ Α Ι Κ Α Τ Α Γ Α Ν  
Κ Α Ι Κ Α Τ Α Θ Α Λ Α Σ Σ Α Ν Κ Α Ι Τ Α Α Λ Λ Α Ο Σ Α Κ Α Ι  
10 Τ Ο Ι Σ Α Λ Λ Ο Ι Σ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε Ν Ο Ι Σ Κ Α Ι Ε Υ Ε Ρ Γ Ε Τ Α Ι  
Σ Δ Ι Δ Ο Τ Α Ι Τ Α Ν Τ Α Ε Ν Γ Υ Ο Ι Τ Α Σ Τ Τ Ρ Ο Ξ Ε  
Ν Ι Α Σ . . . Ο Ι Τ Ε Λ Ε Σ Α Ρ Χ Ο Σ Δ Α Μ Ο Τ Ε Λ Ε Ο Σ  
Μ Ε Ν Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Σ Δ Υ Μ Α Ν

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. A. XX, 1916, pp. 32 ff.; 154 ff.; 346 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I should naturally have published this stone together with the inscriptions from East Locris (A. J. A. XIX, 1915, pp. 320 ff.), had not the card on which it was copied been misplaced, so that I did not find it again until July, 1921.

θεὸς ἀγαθὰι τύχαι.

ἀγωνοθετέοντος Στρατάγου Πορθά[νος  
Φυσκέος, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λοκρῶν ἔδωκε Ἀριστοκρά[ται  
[τ]ῶι Εὐαγόρα Ἀχαιῶι ἐξ Αἰγίου προξενίαν καὶ

5 εὐεργεσίαν καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ  
προδικίαν καὶ ἀτελείαν, προεδρίαν καὶ γᾶς  
ἐγκτησιν καὶ οἰκίας καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις  
καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ κατὰ γᾶν  
καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ

10 τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέται-  
ς δίδοται πάντα. ἔνγυοι τᾶς προξε-  
νίας [Λοκρ]οὶ Τελέσαρχος Δαμοτέλεος,  
Μένανδρος Δυμάν.

The dating by the *agonothetes* indicates that West Locris is completely free from the Aetolian League; the inscription belongs, therefore, in the period after 166 B.C. (Salvetti, *Studi di Stor. Ant.*, II, 104; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XXXII, 161 ff.; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 218k; *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*<sup>3</sup>, 291; more exactly, after some date between June and November, 166, see H. Pomtow, *Neue Jahrb.* CLV, 798, 8), and certainly before 100 (since all known inscriptions recording the West Locrian *agonothetes*, now 17 in number, including the present one,<sup>1</sup> see my forthcoming article 'Lokris' in Pauly-Wiss. *Realencycl.*, belong to the second century; cf. A. Nikitsky, *Journ. of the Min. for Popular Educ.* [Russian], 1911, *section for Class. Philol.*, Feb., pp. 70 ff. (inaccessible) and A. Wilhelm, *Jb. Oest. Arch. I.* XIV, 225). The view, however, of E. Nachmanson, *op. cit.* pp. 58 ff., that the West Locrian *κοινόν* was among those which the Romans dissolved in 146 (Paus. VII, 16, 9 f.) and had not yet restored by 143, is certainly incorrect,<sup>2</sup> since *S.G.D.I.* 1937 dates from ca. 145/4 (Pomtow, Pauly-Wiss., *op. cit.* IV, p. 2641), three other inscriptions which also mention the *agonothetes* coming a few years later (*i.e.*, *S.G.D.I.* 2140 from ca. 142/1; 2097 from ca. 133/2; and *B.C.H.* XXII, 10, No. 2, from 130). It would seem, therefore, that Niese (*Gesch. der griech. und maked. Staaten*, III, 356 and note 3; compare also Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*, and Nachman-

<sup>1</sup> E. Nachmanson's list, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 60, 1, includes falsely *S.G.D.I.* 2568, which, like 2962, refers to the celebration of games at Delphi.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the criticism by H. Swoboda, *Staatsaltertümer* in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, I, 3<sup>e</sup>, p. 368, 4.

son, *op. cit.* pp. 58 f.) was justified in restricting the statement of Pausanias regarding the dissolution of all the leagues in Greece, to those which actually took part in the war, since, although Pausanias also records the reëstablishment of the leagues "not many years later," the inscriptions of 145/4 and 142/1 follow quite too close upon the war to admit of this explanation. It follows that West Locris, no doubt under Aetolian influence, took no part in the war against Rome, and hence the Locrians who suffered so severely at this time (Polyb. XXXVIII, 3, 8) were those of East Locris exclusively.

The present inscription can be placed shortly after 166 B.C. by means of the number of persons who can be identified from Delphic inscriptions of fixed date. Thus, Stratagos the son of Porthaon appears as a manumitter in 170 B.C. (*S.G.D.I.* 1739), and in 166 (*S.G.D.I.* 1851) a certain Stratagos, very probably the same person, is associated with Polemarchos, Callicrates and Crinias, who appear together in *I.G.* IX, 1, 349 and 351, inscriptions which date from a period soon after 170 (see Dittenberger on No. 349), while about the same time a Stratagos serves as a witness at Phycus (A. Wilhelm, *Beitr. zur griech. Inschriftenkunde*, 129).<sup>1</sup> Porthaon, son of Stratagos (obviously the grandfather of the present Stratagos), is a witness in 170 (*S.G.D.I.* 1739), and again a Porthaon, no doubt the same person, is a witness shortly after 170 (*I.G.* IX, 1, 352). Telesarchos, son of Damoteles (probably the *Boularch* of 189/8, *S.G.D.I.* 2070. 2139), appears as *agonothetes* in 154 (*S.G.D.I.* 1908). A Damoteles, son of Callicrates, is a witness in 130 (*B.C.H.* XXII, 10, No. 2), and a mere Damoteles from Phycus (very likely the same man) is a witness in 133 (*S.G.D.I.* 2097); he is pretty clearly the grandson of the Damoteles, father of Telesarchos, of the present inscription. The elder Damoteles must then have had two sons, Telesarchos and Callicrates, the latter being mentioned also in *I.G.* IX, 1, 349 (soon after 170) and *S.G.D.I.* 1851 (166 B.C.). Probably also Menandros, a secretary at Dyme, certainly in the third century B.C., and very likely in 219 (*Syll.*

<sup>1</sup> Since Stratagos and Porthaon appear as witnesses on the inscription published by Wilhelm, as well as in the group *I.G.* IX, 1, 349-52, one can supplement from Wilhelm's inscription in *I.G.* IX, 1, 350, with a high degree of probability, the following incomplete names: l. 6 Κριτ[όλαος], already suggested by Dittenberger (his son and grandson are mentioned in a Delphic inscription of 152, *S.G.D.I.* 2019), l. 7 Ἀριστ[όδαμος], l. 9 Ἀλέξα[νδρος].

*Inscr. Graec.*<sup>3</sup> 529 and Hiller von Gaertringen's note thereon), is the grandfather of the present guarantor.

l. 3. This is the only mention of the κοινόν of the West Locrians although the institution is presupposed by all the records which are dated by the *agonothetes*. Like other κοινά it bestowed proxeny (cf. Swoboda, *op. cit.* p. 473, *s.v.* Bundes-Proxenie), but the right of individual cities, members of the κοινόν, to do the same remained unimpaired (e.g. Chalaion from ca. 150 B.C., *I.G.* IX, 1, 330; cf. Swoboda, *op. cit.* p. 479, *s.v.* Städtische Proxenie in Bundesstädten).—That an inscription of the κοινόν, not referring directly to Physcus, is nevertheless recorded in that place, makes it very probable that this town was its official centre, and, since the eponymous magistrate was an *agonothetes*, that the ἀγών was held here, hence in honor of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἰλιάς (mentioned in manumissions at Physcus, *I.G.* IX, 1, 349–52, Cohen, *B.C.H.* XXII, 354 ff., Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 129. 132 ff.), no doubt the equivalent of ἡ Δοκρὶς Αἰαντία, the chief deity of Naryx (Wilhelm, *Jh. Oest. Arch.* I. XIV, 168 f.), in East Locris, the special home of the Locrian Ajax, who in turn, must have been identical with the Ἀθηνᾶ Αἰαντίς of Megara, connected with the Telamonian Ajax (Paus. I, 42, 4). Accordingly Wilhelm's conjecture (*Beiträge*, p. 225 f.), that the festival at which the *agonothetes* presided was the Πτεία (*I.G.* IV, 428), or Πῖα (Plut. *Sep. Sap. Conv.* 19) at Antirrhone,<sup>1</sup> is almost certainly incorrect.

l. 4 ff. The formulae are unusually abundant but all are common enough.

l. 11. For the rare provision whereby a guarantor might be appointed, see the Aetolian decree of the year 182 B.C. (*Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 629, 31), ἔγγυος τῶν προξενῶν ὁ γραμματεὺς.

l. 12 f. That [Δοκρ]οί is the word to be supplied here seems likely from the name of the first guarantor, who is a citizen of Physcus.<sup>2</sup> The plural, however, is a bit surprising. One might have expected Δοκρὸς T. Δ. Ἀχαιὸς M. Δ., but there is no indication that any letters have been lost at the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> This was clearly in honor of Poseidon, see my article 'Antirrhone', in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* Supplbd. III, 125 f.

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Professor Arthur Stanly Pease, makes the interesting suggestion that the stonecutter carved ΕΝΓΥΟΙ twice by mistake, and then himself deleted, but not quite successfully, the repeated word. This may be the correct explanation, but the problem of the close political connection between Dyme and West Locris would still remain.

thirteenth line, and it is difficult to see how a citizen of an Achaean city, who was not at the same time also a Locrian, could function as a guarantor for a government to which he was not subject and by which normally he could not be called to account. [Λοκρ]οί is, accordingly, perhaps correct, and we are, therefore, probably to understand that the citizens of Dyme enjoyed complete isopolity with the West Locrians, precisely as the Ceans were one and all full citizens of the city of Naupactus, their *metropolis* (see *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 522, III; Heraclides Pont., *F.H.G.* II, 214). That the Dymanes were otherwise closely connected with Physcus appears from the fact that two of them served as witnesses for the manumission of a slave at Physcus by citizens of the place (Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 129). Even more striking is the Φιλόνομος Δυμάν (Δυμᾶν Wescher-Foucart and Baunack) who is actually *agonothetes* of West Locris between 170–157/6 B.C. (*S.G.D.I.* 1842) and appears again as βεβαιωτήρ in 166 for a Locrian manumission from Physcus (*S.G.D.I.* 1851).<sup>1</sup> For a citizen of Dyme to serve as *agonothetes* in a neighboring state is, indeed, singular, though undoubtedly quite legal (cf. E. Szanto, *Das griech. Bürgerrecht*, pp. 22 ff.), but, although the office in West Locris, because of its eponymous character, was no doubt technically an ἀρχή, and not as in Athens merely an ἐπιμέλεια (*I.G.* II, 307, and especially II, 379, 5 f.), still, in a loosely organized κοινόν like that of West Locris, there was doubtless very little business indeed for even the chief executive to perform, most of that probably coming at the festival season, so that the principal duty of this particular *agonothetes* was merely to defray the expenses of the celebration (cf. Reisch in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* I, 873, 46 ff; 876, 42 ff.), a privilege which might, accordingly, among a notoriously poor people like the Western Locrians, be occasionally bestowed, without invidious discrimination, upon a friendly and wealthy foreigner, who was also technically a citizen of the country.

One might, indeed, regard Δυμάν as the *ethnikon* of an otherwise unknown community in West Locris, but its use in the present inscription is strongly against that explanation, besides we have already such a multitude of place-names from West Locris, that a locality of sufficient consequence to produce an *agonothetes* could hardly have escaped every other record but these. Another

<sup>3</sup> Δυμάν in these inscriptions is certainly not a phyle-name, as Baunack on *S. G. D. I.*, 1851, observes.

objection to the explanation proposed above, is that the ordinary *ethnikon* for Dyme is  $\Delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (so regularly in literature, and also on inscriptions, *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 531 and 684 from Dyme itself, 702 (note) an Achaean inscription from Delphi, *I.G.* IV, 727 from Hermione, 925, 4 from Epidaurus).  $\Delta\delta\mu\eta$  is, however, a late name for the settlement, older designations being *Paleia* and *Stratos* (Philippson in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* V, p. 1878), and is derived from the  $\Delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$  who inhabited the region (Szanto in Pauly-Wiss. *op. cit.* V, p. 1876), so that  $\Delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  was the local *ethnikon* probably employed in order to avoid confusion with the phyle-name  $\Delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota\omega\omicron\nu$  (hence in literature, and in another Doric country where the  $\Delta\nu\mu\alpha\iota\epsilon\varsigma$  appeared), while the West Locrians seem to have used (perhaps better, *retained* from earlier times) a form which properly designated the inhabitants of the *pagus* rather than strictly only the citizens of the later town.

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